/227/

462 [226] Fishing, an activity of relative unimportance in Guajiro economic life, is also done by the men. It is limited to obtaining certain edible species or to gathering oysters for the pearl trade, and, as in hunting, it is the men who manufacture the necessary equipment and implements.

Agricultural work is divided between the two sexes. The man is responsible for the preparation of the land for sowing: cutting, clearing and burning, and the tasks of weeding and hilling. Although planting is women's work, certain vegetables have to be planted by men because according to their magic beliefs if these plants are sown by women they will never give a good crop either in quantity or quality; such plants are, for example, fruit trees and creeping plants such as the water melon, melon, calabashes, etc. It is also men's work to fence in their plots of land.

The migration of many males to Venezuela and to other regions bordering on the peninsula, due to the climatic conditions already mentioned, has made it permissible for the women to take part in agricultural tasks normally considered suitable only for men.

The Guajiro man is the one who builds the dwelling. He obtains the help he needs in the form of communal labor, and with this aid he transports the materials and builds his house without any aid from his wife.

462 32 In leisure moments or during the hottest hours of the day, while resting on hammocks, young Guajiro men apply themselves to carving rings, beads for necklaces or bracelets, and amulets or small figures to hang round the neck or wrist, which yield a small income; to make these he uses broom handles, small plastic combs, ram and goat horns, coconut shells and coral. During these moments or whenever the opportunity arises, he also makes toe pieces for his sandals, using a small loom. This occupation has an economic end in the towns where such articles [439] find a ready sale.

[5 cont.]

175 177 into his culture, especially into the economy, some of their social institutions, and even in the aspect of their racial composition. Acculturation has been greatly accelerated in recent years due to the ever increasing presence of foreign elements in [648] La Guajira Peninsula, facilitated by the intervention of the government in this administrative section, by the development of communication, and by the commercial possibilities that dealing with the natives presents.

105 175 177 The fundamental change in the Guajiro's life occurred in their economy. Until the arrival of the conquistadors, according to the data available, the Guajiro were a hunting and fishing people who lived in a constant state of nomadism to the point of having no true habitations, as has been stated by different chroniclers of Conquest times. They also practiced a rudimentary agriculture, mainly the cultivation of corn and yucca, the bases of their vegetable food and of their principal drinks.

[648] With the establishment of stock raising centers by the Spaniards in the regions bordering on La Guajira, the natives found a new source of subsistence. They started a series [6] of thefts from the haciendas which enabled them to obtain animals suited for raising, which adapted wonderfully to the normal conditions of their territory, where during the winter season pasture grows spontaneously, pasture which previously had served only to feed the deer and other herbivorous animals which form part of the fauna of La Guajira.

With the introduction of this new economic element the native began, step by step, to change his economy of fishing, hunting, and rudimentary agriculture into a new system based principally on stock grazing. His state of a nomadic hunter was transformed to that of herdsman, also nomadic because of the geographic conditions we have just described in previous paragraphs. They also changed their mode of transport by learning to use horses and asses, and even their tactics of war were appreciably changed once they could make use of horses in their battles, placing them thereby on an equal footing with the Spanish conquistador; as in addition to this decisive element, [439] they could also count on firearms obtained in the pearl trade with foreign ships which came up their coast.

[8 cont.]
119 now present it embodied under this title Aspectos de la Magia en
121 la Guajira, a title which not only covers what has been known as magic to the Indian but also many of his mental and sentimental attitudes, the classification of which would be difficult in any other way. [9] [Maps of La Guajira Comisaría on p. 9. Page 10 is blank.]

[11] II

Life Cycle of the Guajiro Shaman

*1756 787 Symptomatology. A woman shaman [piache], referring to the bodily symptoms which presented themselves as an indication of her calling, mentioned the following: She began to see before her eyes a kind of little star which fell upon her in the manner of a golden rain, the first sign, according to her, of her person being possessed by a spirit. Her sight became clouded, and she fell to the ground in a faint; she remained stretched out there for some time. Then she very slowly regained consciousness. After this first attack of possession, she felt quite well for two or three days, after which she woke up one morning with a sensation of intense cold such as one feels at the beginning of an attack of malaria; she also broke out in a sticky sweat all over her body; then she was overcome, vomited blood, and remained unconscious until afternoon, lying like one dead in her hammock. She began to recover again, and the spirit came down to her, for she seemed to hear a voice that ordered her, "Eat manilla (2), for if [278 #39]

2. A tobacco paste imported by the natives from Riohacha (Colombia) or from Maracaibo (Venezuela).

*1756 you do not, you will die." On receiving this order, she immediately told her relatives to bring her manilla, and one of them went with a gold necklace of hers to look for an old woman shaman that she might come to see if our informant had a spirit and, if it were true,

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

bed of a watercourse. As the season advances, and the water recedes, they either dig after it or search for a lower level. Wells of 30 to 40 feet are very common. The water is reached by a staircase cut in the sand with an easy incline. Wells are easily distinguishable from a distance by the water-troughs, hollowed out of divi-divi trees, and called canoes. These are of the most distorted and grotesque shapes, and serve to water the herd. This is very hard work for the poor Indians during the summer months, and usually employs the whole day. Water from wells if taken early in the morning is always clear and cool. When bathing at a well the Indian uses a canoe; if he stops to drink, a bath invariably follows. Every well has a name, and the country is perforated by them like a mining camp. The wells of Chimare are phenomenal; dug out on the sea-shore, on a narrow strip of sand 100 yards in breadth, with the sea on one side and the salt-pans of Chimare, with layers of salt many feet thick, on the other, the water is, notwithstanding, perfectly fresh. There are seven holes about 10 feet deep. I may mention that Pirashi is the name of a celebrated well dug in the river that drains the eastern flank of Roma. It means "salt," probably because the water is brackish.

Second in importance are the water-tanks or cuisinas. These are sometimes natural, as a small lake at the foot of Roma and the cuisinas of Cojoa, filtrations from the river Naiua, forming a large lake in the rainy season and many small dirty pools in summer, but nature aided by art is the rule. Some are immense undertakings, and large sheets of water, calculated to last a summer through if not too severe; such as Ariapi, the cuisina of Puerto Estrella, a large crescent-shaped piece of water of about a quarter of a square mile. The water of these cuisinas is always muddy and filthy for drinking purposes. The herds are driven in, and every Indian that passes is sure to bathe, so that in time almost a skin of grease forms on the top; and yet in places where they are it is the only water to be had, truly must and drink combined.

The Goajira coast abounds in harbours and bays, but none of much importance. Between Rio Hacha and Cabo de la Vela, in the extensive bay formed by the latter, anchorage is found almost all along the coast. Numerous rendezvous have become known through the commerce with the Indians, and quite a large trade is carried on in the small coasting schooners. Further along the coast are three large bays. The first, or Portete, is a large bay, well protected from the easterly trades, and is certainly the best part along the coast. Unfortunately the entrance is narrow, intricate, and with shoals. The next, Bahia Honda, is almost a complete oval, some eight miles long by three miles broad, and with an entrance of nearly three miles broad. It is separated from the sea by a stone wall from 60 to 80 feet at the highest, but not enough to protect the bay from the strong easterly winds that blow with such force here. It makes but a poor harbour, the surf inside during the afternoons pre-

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

Our provisions were at an end. We had been too generous and not rationed them strictly, the men having complained of hunger the whole time. Now we were suffering for it.

Away in the distance, well out of range, we saw a *venado*, a deer, making off through the cactus with graceful bounds. Where did the deer drink? Surely they would not dare approach the Indians' water-holes, which were either guarded or covered.

'Deer do not drink,' said the Indians. 'They are content with the dew they can lick out of the cactus flowers.'

We were thus without both food and water. We whites had tinned food, but the Indians only appreciated the empty tins. The Lad then offered to get us some food and water. He had not been away more than an hour, when he returned with a young girl carrying a live kid in her arms. She wore nothing but the remnants of a woman's loin cloth, and apparently knew that white people did not approve of nakedness, for she tried to hide her charms behind the kid. We therefore gave her a piece of white cloth in payment, although it was really a pity to let her cover herself, for she was the shapeliest Indian girl we had yet seen in the peninsula. The cloth would protect her from the sun and make her fair-skinned and beautiful, so she was overjoyed and offered to show us the way to what she said was a much better water hole.

This new water hole was shaded by some divi-divi trees—the trees were withered and their shade sparse—and surrounded by reddish hillocks. It was not very deep and a couple of women were bathing in it. They paid no attention to us, nakedness in the bath being considered decent. Our Indians and animals were able to drink as much as they liked there, and we also filled our water-containers. Then we moved on looking for a suitable place in which to eat our goat in peace.

Gladrvet, our photographer, put up the tent to give us a little shade, and meanwhile the Indians slaughtered the kid and cut it up. My wife cooked the pieces we had taken for ourselves, helped by the little girl who had come with us. She was now wearing the piece of cloth like a pinafore and

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

garden. In the morning the Indians came and demanded the body. The monks refused, not wishing to lend themselves to violation of the dead, and said that they would only treat with the chief. He, however, was not in the vicinity. The Indians threatened to burn the mission station. Fortunately the chief arrived at this juncture, and told his braves that they must not use violence against the monks.

'Never to kill and just to rescue those condemned to death as you do, does not fit in with our laws,' he said to the monks. 'You Capuchins lack any sense of reality. But I shall do you no harm, since you never harm others.'

It sometimes happens that the victor instead of killing his male prisoners will sell them as slaves to the white men, preferably to places at some distance from the peninsula, such as the Dutch islands of Aruba and Curaçao, Zulia in Venezuela, or the Magdalena department of Colombia. The Indians deal in slaves among themselves; they also sell them to the white men and these, too, traffic in them among themselves.

Legally, a slave sold to a white person should become free, but in reality the owner of the *hacienda* treats him as a serf, branding his own mark on him, depriving him of his clan name and giving him his own. To sell a prisoner into slavery is not always to hear the last of him; for some have escaped from the Dutch islands, stowing away on boats, and on their return have exacted vengeance. It is not easy for hacienda slaves to escape. They are often hunted like animals.

There was a considerable sale of young girls to the whites, a scandalous traffic. In Indian territory this was mainly in the hands of quasi-chiefs, generally mestizos and other half-breeds with no right to the title, who cleverly saw how to exploit the Guajiro laws to earn a lot of money. The Guajiro customary law was never intended to apply to export.

The monks were the chief opponents of the slave-traffic. They received a special grant from the government of Colombia to enable them to purchase the freedom of slave children. The white men made no distinction between slave

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

and slave-worker, whichever they bought, they treated alike. In times of famine, so-called recruiting-agents, usually half-breeds, appeared on the scene and bought up workers for the haciendas. Even those Creoles who were not directly engaged in this shameful traffic considered slavery a phenomenon about which there was nothing to be done. After all it was an ancient institution. Slave-workers with Creoles never became free, unless they could manage to escape, for the Creoles did not respect the Guajiro law according to which a slave-worker's servitude ceases when he has paid his debt. Those white people, mestizos or mulattos who had bought slave-workers saw to it that they never got away once they had put their clan mark to a contract, the purport of which they did not understand.

The central chain of hills, Sierra de Jarará, and Maicao in the western low country, were usually accounted the centre of this slave traffic. If a poor man stole a bullock or a goat to feed himself and his family, he was often punished by being sold as a slave-worker—having nothing with which to pay the owner compensation.

The monks are needed there all right. They calculated that during the five years they had been working there, some three thousand slaves had been sold. In the old days the Guajiro also had negro slaves, as is apparent from Antonio Julian's description of the country written at the end of the eighteenth century. According to him, the Indians used to obtain firearms, spirits, wine and slaves in Rio Hacha, in exchange for their pearls. The pearl fishery was entirely in the Indians' hands. Elsewhere, negro slaves were bartered for pearls from boats lying off the coast. Antonio Julian expressed concern at the fact that with the addition of negroes and negresses not only would the Indians increase in numbers, but also that they would acquire an additional population of mulattos, mestizos and zambos, who would make common cause with them and make them 'even more terrible, insolent and difficult to conquer'.

When he visited the peninsula he was met by a chief who was attended by two negro slaves, splendidly got up, like lackeys, and that obviously impressed him greatly.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

They were of black earthenware ornamented with figures. The women were making maize gruel. There, close to the green valleys, they ought to have been able to get any vegetables or roots they liked, yet they clung to their diet of maize and goat's meat. They had obviously put the pots on because they expected the men, and sure enough a couple of naked horsemen came galloping up, so at one with their horses that they looked like centaurs. The Guajiro Indians can be born on a horse in the literal sense, if their mothers have to be on a journey at the time. They look well on horseback, and even the old men rode well. The younger men were muscular and well-made, and more pleasing to our eye than the women.

The men had been out enjoying themselves. They had been hunting and their clan mark was painted in blue on their thighs. They must have done that to amuse themselves before they left, for normally both men and women have their clan marks tattooed.

We asked the men what they had hunted with, for they carried neither bows nor firearms, and also what they had hunted, for they did not seem to have got anything. They laughed and explained that they had had no luck, and showed us slings of plaited bast. They had been out after doves or rabbits, but had seen nothing. (The Creoles call the animal in question a rabbit, but its Latin name is *Sylvilagus cunicularius*.) They showed us the short throwing clubs with which they hunted this and made some practice throws. They were expert at hitting the target with both club and sling, but only at distances of twenty to thirty yards.

A youth showed us a whistle that he said would unfailingly entice a deer if you blew it—provided there was a deer nearby, as he hastened to add. Judging by the expression on the women's faces he was no famous hunter. A couple of men also arrived and we were able to think of doing business. We had no difficulty in buying what we wanted, provided we paid well. Prices were our great difficulty, yet these men were less spoiled than elsewhere in the peninsula. The Guajiro not only trafficked with the

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

The Guajiro not only trafficked with the
439 whites, but they did a lively trade with each other, using
[738] cattle as their currency. Thanks to this there was a form of incipient specialization. Pottery and weapons were the main articles of trade. The rich bought those made by specially
[556 463] skilled craftsmen, who made so much money that they concentrated largely on producing things to sell. The poor had to make all their own things. Everywhere there were people who could weave and spin, and make pottery, but those who could afford it liked to buy what was best and loveliest.

We wanted to buy articles in general use, but the irritating thing was that the rich did not need to sell and only did so if it amused them, or if they got an especially good price; while the poor had nothing to sell. Those who made these articles as a craft liked to use materials bought from the whites. In the old days they used to weave their textiles of homespun cotton thread dyed with vegetable dyes; now they not infrequently bought dyed woollen yarn from the whites, but in that remote part of the peninsula they had not yet begun to do so. We saw that they had plenty of hammocks made of bast and cotton yarn. These were larger and more comfortable than was usual and were made with a different technique. The hammock is the genuine Indian
[513] bed, invented in the jungles of South America before the white man ever came there, and has the advantage of being easy to take about and cool to lie in, while the sleeper is protected from all the unpleasant and dangerous insects of the ground.

Throughout the journey we had slept in hammocks—you have to get used to them before you find them comfortable—as long as there was somewhere to hang them. We now told the Indians that we wanted proper hammocks, the kind they themselves used, for we had bought ours from the whites. That started the bargaining.

439 There was seldom any question of buying for cash—they
436 did not have much confidence in the white man's money—so we had to barter for what we wanted. We soon discovered that apart from our knives, the Indians undervalued all our goods. If we had not had a large case of knives we would never have managed to assemble the collections

7:Bollinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

we wanted to make. After knives, maize was the best medium of exchange, and we could buy that from the monks as long as we used the mission station as our headquarters, but once we went further afield we were not able to carry any to use for barter. Cloth was also in demand. We had a couple of bales of the white material the Indians usually bought. Unfortunately we had not been able to get the best barter commodity of all: tuma beads. These are large polished stone beads of different sizes made of cornelian and other stones, for all of which the Guajiro has special names. Tuma beads are found in old Indian graves, especially in and around Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, though these graves are also said to exist in Guajira. However, it was not advisable, we were told, to try and prove that or to embark on archaeological excavations. To do so might easily lead to trouble.

Later we made a rich find of tuma beads in graves in Sierra Nevada, but then we were not able to go back to Guajira. The richer Indians especially valued tuma very highly and often paid as much as a horse for one bead. We could not have used anything as precious for our small deals, but they would have been useful for getting riding and pack-animals. *As it was* we bought a couple of hammocks and some earthenware vessels.

One must be careful not to do a Guajiro over a deal. That can involve one in difficulties and a claim for damages. It goes without saying that, in the Indians' view, it was we who came off second best, and we would not have had it otherwise.

We took leave of our hosts feeling slightly guilty because of that photograph which was a secret between us, the girl and her guardian, but also satisfied with our first expedition in Macuira. We loaded a donkey with our purchases which an Indian drove direct to Nazaret, for we were to make a detour in order to visit another rancho. The sand made very heavy going and we decided for the future we would ride, especially as we should be going further afield.

As soon as we drew near the next rancho, we realised that something was afoot. We could hear a buzz of voices

7:Bollinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

quarrelsome, the parting drink of spirits having had its effect. One old man after much swaying in the saddle was finally thrown off by his jibbing mule. He landed in a prickly bush and became frantic. He wanted to see blood. Luckily his weapons were on his saddle, but he managed to remove one of his spurs and began stabbing with it at those who were trying to help him up. Francisco received a jab, but he and a couple of others managed to overpower the old ruffian, whom they bound and tied to his saddle. Then his wife led him and his mount away.

One by one the groups went off in their various directions. We came to the rancho of the young Indian, our new friend. He had several big huts, built on the sand, where there was no greenery or shade. He explained that when the rains came, it did not become swampy there, as in most other places, but the water ran through the sand and you could walk dry-shod. There were looms in several of the open huts. At one sat our host's young, light-complexioned wife, who undoubtedly was a great beauty by Guajiro standards, and in another his aged mother with a wrinkled clever face.

We were offered goat's milk as a refreshment. I was always amazed at the care with which these Indians collected the small quantities of milk the goats yielded, for each gave a mere squirt. We took a gulp of goat's milk in order to avoid having to drink spirits.

The women were in a great bustle, evidently getting a spread ready. The Guajiro are hospitable, and when strangers or friends come they must have the best the house can provide. If need be, the host gives up his own hammock and lies on the ground.

Our host had plenty of hammocks. After resting a while, my wife went inside to look at the weaving, while I produced one of the pistols I had bought at an auction and demonstrated it, shooting a couple of shots, the noise and smoke of which appeared highly satisfactory to our host. Hastily he drew me aside and whispered that he had something that ought to interest me. He had *sera* and was willing to part with this precious, sought-after article in exchange for my noisy pistol. After all I had a companion without a

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

wife and he perhaps could do with it. I knew what unu was, but had never expected to be offered a secret magical object by an Indian who scarcely knew me.

Unu was one of the many *cóntra* or instruments of magic used by the Indians either to protect or help the possessor. Unu stimulated love. The Guajiro have not only their old Indian magic, but some of Spanish-Moorish and African negro origin. Where these cóntra are concerned, it would be most interesting, though difficult, to find out which were of red, black or white origin. They differ in character, but one and all can be lent or hired to a person of the same sex and can be used by that person with as much effect as when used by the owner himself.

A unu love magic was most difficult and expensive to acquire. The equivalent of £30 or £40 was the current price, while the owner will normally charge £10 or £15 if he hires it out. A cóntra must not be shown to any unauthorized person, as its power may then transfer itself to the person who happens to see it.

Love talismans were of different kinds. That considered to be of the best quality was a tiny pouch containing small pieces of what looked like the droppings of some sort of lizard. The magic stuffs of Guajira often imitate the excrement of various animals. Others consist of little stones in a glass bottle, or a decoction of herbs, which the person on whom the magic is to be worked has to take or wash in. One powerful and unfailing love specific is the hair clippings of the confined majayura girl, mixed with the blood of humming birds and other ingredients, but that can only be used on the girl in question. With her, however, it cannot fail.

The love magic the young Indian now said he would give me was one of those little pouches, thus very precious. He was willing to let it go because he liked my pistol so much. He had no further need of a love specific now that he had got himself a beautiful wife with its help—and, he might have added, thanks to a good supply of cattle. And if he ever wanted another cóntra, well, he knew where to get one. But he would not get any more wives. He was a

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

the chief game. The *Goajiro* who live near the coast sometimes catch fish (with hook and line), lobsters, mollusks, and crabs.

Cattle raising.—The *Goajiro* are primarily nomadic cattle raisers and, consequently, depend upon the water supply. In the rainy season they seek natural depressions, which they sometimes enlarge artificially, where the water may gather. In case of drought they wander toward the sea, where wells 30 to 40 feet (9 to 12 m.) deep are dug.

Besides cattle the *Goajiro* keep sheep, goats, horses (pl. 72, *bottom, left*), mules, pigs, and domestic fowls, which they take with them wherever they go. An estimate gives them 100,000 cattle, 200,000 sheep and goats, 20,000 horses and mules, and 30,000 donkeys. As cattle are a measure of wealth, the Indians are reluctant to kill them for food, but they utilize the milk or export the animals to Curaçao and Aruba in exchange for textiles and corn. Each tribe has its own cattle brand, and the annual round-up and branding is an occasion for great festivities. Horse races and other sports take place, and large quantities of food and drink are consumed.

Food preparation.—*Goajiro* diet consists almost entirely of meat and milk products. Goats and sheep are killed every day or two for meat, and the milk of the cows is made into butter and cheese. This diet is supplemented by yuca, cactus fruit, sugar, rice, and plantains, the last three obtained from Colombian and Venezuelan traders in exchange for skins. Meat that is not immediately consumed is suspended from tall poles, and skins are pegged to the ground and salted in preparation for sale. Butter is made by stirring the cream with a fluted stick in a calabash or wooden bucket. To make cheese, rennet is added to skimmed milk in a trough, and the curds are put in a primitive wooden cheese press, which is weighted with a heavy rock.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Although the *Goajiro* are of a common origin, they are divided into 6 sibs ("castes" or "tribes"), each living within a rather limited area (Simons, 1885, p. 796). The sibs are split into local groups, which occupy extended villages or rancherías, each with 2 to 50 houses (ranchos) and 10 to 250 or more Indians. Houses are always within gunshot distance of one another and so disposed that surprise attacks would be difficult. If a village is at all permanent, a protective cactus hedge surrounds it.

Goajiro nomadism makes elaborate houses unnecessary. Dwellings are mere lean-tos, arbors, and temporary gabled roofs supported on poles. Thatch is made from the core of the cactus, split lengthwise. Rough tables, chairs with rawhide seats, and benches are often used. The hammock is always present. House walls are often lacking, but a corner of the hut may be closed off for a girl's puberty seclusion. When mi-

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

They make designs on
their skin with black stain and tattoo themselves, especially on the arms and legs, with charcoal dust pigment. At least one of the marks is the same as the tribal brand.

MANUFACTURES

Women have a rather definite daily routine. They arise before daybreak, milk the cows, and prepare the morning meal for the men, who then go off to fish, hunt, fight, or merely loaf and drink chicha. They fill their jugs at the water hole and then spend the rest of the day collecting wild cotton, spinning, weaving, making ropes, grinding corn, making butter, cheese, and chicha, and performing other household duties. They milk again in the evening.

Textiles are probably the best *Goajiro* manufactures. Their other products are pottery (which is the virtual monopoly of a few sibs), bows and arrows, and saddles and harnesses.

Spinning and weaving.—Wild cotton is collected, the seeds removed by hand, and small wads are rolled around a thin stick to form small tubes about half an inch (12.5 mm.) in diameter and 6 inches (15 cm.) long. These tubes are then spun into thread with the use of a spindle, one end of which rests in a calabash bowl on the ground. Yarns are colored with vegetable dyes, especially divi-divi.

Almost every household owns a loom, before which the women sit for hours weaving hammocks and bright-colored belts for men and horses. *The warp is made from one long continuous thread wound around two* thick horizontal poles, the upper one firmly attached to two uprights, the lower one hanging loose and maintaining the tension. As the work progresses, the cloth is moved forward around the poles, so that an endless strip of cloth is produced, which is then cut. Shuttles are passed through by hand, the warp being shifted by means of a threading arrangement which takes hold of alternate strands. On a piece of cloth about 2 yards wide an inch of weave every three hours is considered very fast work.

Containers.—Most cooking utensils are made of crude earthenware by a few tribes in the vicinity of the Teta, a peak near the middle of the peninsula. Spoons and forks are cut out of calabashes. Some Indians possess enameled mugs and pots obtained from itinerant traders.

Weapons.—Almost every man possesses a good rifle. Cartridges are scarce and expensive and must be smuggled in. Firearms are consequently reserved mainly for warfare, and the bow and arrow is the everyday weapon.

The bow is made from the hard, springy wood of the black palm. It is almost round in cross section, 5 to 6 feet (1.7 to 2 m.) long, and strung with a special sisal cord. The end which rests on the ground is protected

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

411 by an empty cartridge case, to which a metal ring is sometimes attached, giving a musical note with every shot.

Feathered arrows show many designs. Bird arrows may be tipped with cartridge cases or with large, rounded, wooden knobs about 1 inch (2.5 cm.) in diameter. Heads made from nails are used for small game. Serrated metal-tipped arrows are used in warfare; but the most dangerous arrow is pointed with a sting ray tail, sharpened to a fine needlelike point and fitted into the hollow end of a light cane shaft about 4 feet (1.2 m.) long and three-eighth inch (9 mm.) thick.

[378] To prepare arrow poison, scorpions, centipedes, and poisonous spiders are mashed, snake venom is added, and the mixture is allowed to putrefy for several days. The poison will retain its potency for six months. It is kept in a short section of bamboo, which is carried around the wrist, together with the arrow points, each in a hollow reed. Before shooting, an Indian dips the point into the poison and inserts it in the shaft.

[382] A decorated leather wrist strap is worn as a bowstring guard.

372 **Fire making.**—Fire is made by twirling an arrow on a cactus hearth; the spark is caught in dry grass.

TRADE

439 There is considerable trade between the *Goajiro* and foreigners. Fire-arms and ammunition, cloth, beads, blankets, rum, cutlery, corn, crude sugar, rice, plantains, and tobacco are imported in exchange for salt, cattle, cheese, milk, hides, pearls and pearl shells, logwood (*Haematoxylon campechianum*), and divi-divi (*Caesalpinia coriaria*).

449 During the salt season the Indians of the interior flock to Manaure, where they are paid for loading sacks of salt into the warehouse and onto ships. Both men and women take part in the work, the men filling the sacks and the women carrying them.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

436 The *Goajiro* are subdivided into 20 odd exogamous *eka* ("castes" or "tribes"), each identified with an animal. Some of the larger and more important *eka* are split into smaller groups, each with a special totem. (See Simons, 1885, p. 796, and Wenton, 1927, p. 130, for a list of the various *eka*, together with the totem animals and the locality which they inhabit.) The members of any *eka* are more widely spread throughout the peninsula than previously thought, although in some localities one *eka* may be found to the exclusion of all others. Each "caste," according to Petrullo (1937, p. 151), "holds sovereignty over a well-defined territory." The *eka* which is largest and wealthiest in livestock is that of the Uriana. It has many subdivisions, such as Uriana jaguar, Uriana rabbit, Uriana paujuroto (a song bird), and Uriana gaabo (a lizard). The